

Message Text

PAGE 01 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

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ORIGIN PM-04

INFO OCT-01 SS-15 AF-08 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 AID-05

CCO-00 SSO-00 ISO-00 /068 R

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TO USDEL SECRETARY PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.), MASS

SUBJECT:ACTION MEMORANDUM - FY 1978 SECURITY ASSISTANCE
PROGRAM: PRESIDENT'S MARK-UP (S/S NO. 7624830)
FOR THE SECRETARY FROM HABIB AND JORDAN THRU ROBINSON

1. THE PROBLEM.

THE PRESIDENT ON NOVEMBER 24 MET WITH JIM LYNN AND BRENT SCOWCROFT FOR PRELIMINARY MARK-UP OF SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAM RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FY 1978. THE PRESIDENT ACCEPTED SHARP REDUCTIONS IN MIDDLE EAST PACKAGE, DELETION OF SEVERAL PROPOSED GRANT MAP PROGRAMS, SCATTERED REDUCTIONS IN TRAINING AND FMS FINANCING PROPOSALS, AND DEFERRED DECISION ON SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FOR PORTUGAL AND SOUTHERN
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

AFRICA. OMB HAS ASKED FOR OUR APPEALS BY DECEMBER 6 FOR A FINAL REVIEW WITH THE PRESIDENT TENTATIVELY SCHEDULED FOR DECEMBER 10. WE NEED YOUR DECISIONS ON WHICH CUTS TO APPEAL IN ORDER TO PREPARE A DETAILED MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT

FOR YOUR SIGNATURE.

WE ALSO REQUEST YOUR APPROVAL OF MAKING A CONCURRENT
REQUEST FOR GRANT MAP FOR PORTUGAL NOW, INSTEAD OF WAITING
FOR THE RESULT OF THE AZORES BASE NEGOTIATIONS WHICH SEEM

TO HAVE BEEN POSTPONED INDEFINITELY BY THE GOP.

2. BACKGROUND

-MIDDLE EAST PACKAGE.

THE PRESIDENT APPROVED A REDUCED LEVEL OF 1.5 BILLION
DOLLARS TOTAL SECURITY ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL AND DIRECTED
PROPORTIONAL REDUCTIONS FOR THE CONFRONTATION STATES. ALL
CUTS ARE IN SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE, EXCEPT FOR
JORDAN FOR WHICH MAP AND GRANT TRAINING WERE ALSO CUT. THE
DISTRIBUTION LOOKS LIKE THIS:

	PRESIDENT'S MARK (\$ MILLIONS)	STATE	GRANT	RECOMMENDATION	MAP/IMET	FMS	SSA	TOTAL	TOTAL
ISRAEL	1,000.0	500.0	1,500.0	1,785.0					
EGYPT	625.0	625.0	750.0						
JORDAN	51.5	75.0	60.0	186.5	225.0				
SYRIA	75.0	75.0	90.0						

-GRANT MILITARY ASSISTANCE (MAP).

THREE PROPOSED PROGRAMS WERE DELETED: ZAIRE (\$30
MILLION); THAILAND (\$12.5 MILLION) AND CENTO(\$5 MILLION).
INDONESIA MAP WAS CUT BY \$5 MILLION. JORDAN WAS CUT BY
\$20 MILLION, AS INDICATED ABOVE. THE TOTAL MAP REQUEST
FOR GRANT MATERIEL WAS THEREBY CUT FROM 9 TO 6 PROGRAMS
AND FROM \$260.8 MILLION TO \$188.3 MILLION.

-GRANT TRAINING (IMET).

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

FIVE TRAINING PROGRAMS WERE CUT BACK FOR A SAVING OF
\$3.2 MILLION, APPARENTLY IN RESPONSE TO AN OMB ARGUMENT
THAT INCREASES SHOULD BE ALLOWED ONLY FOR THE REVISED PRIC-
ING FORMULA AND INFLATION, ESTIMATED AT ABOUT 32 .
SPECIFIC CUTS IN DOLLAR MILLIONS ARE:

INDONESIA, DOWN FROM \$3.5 RECOMMENDED TO \$3.1 APPROVED
PORTUGAL, DOWN FROM \$3.0 RECOMMENDED TO \$1.3 APPROVED
MOROCCO, DOWN FROM \$1.5 RECOMMENDED TO \$1.2 APPROVED
TUNISIA, DOWN FROM \$1.0 RECOMMENDED TO \$.7 APPROVED
JORDAN, DOWN FROM \$2.0 RECOMMENDED TO \$1.5 APPROVED

-FMS FINANCING

IN GENERAL, PROPORTIONATE INCREASES IN FMS WERE APPROVED TO COMPENSATE FOR CUTS IN GRANT MAP FOR ZAIRE, THAILAND, AND INDONESIA. TWO RECOMMENDED FMS PROGRAMS WERE

DELETED: LEBANON (\$10 MILLION), AND CAMEROON (\$5 MILLION). THE PANAMA FMS PROGRAM WAS REDUCED FROM OUR RECOMMENDED \$8.7 MILLION TO \$1.0 MILLION. THE NET EFFECT ON THE TOTAL FMS PROGRAM WOULD BE AN INCREASE FROM \$2,212.7 MILLION TO \$2,237.5 MILLION.

-SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE.

ASIDE FROM SHARP CUTS IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOTED ABOVE, THE PRESIDENT DEFERRED DECISIONS ON OUR REQUESTS FOR SOUTHERN AFRICA (\$220 MILLION), AND PORTUGAL (\$50 MILLION).

-MIDDLE EAST PACKAGE.

THE PRESIDENT APPARENTLY DECIDED ON A COMPROMISE BETWEEN A LOWER OMB RECOMMENDATION AND STATE PROPOSALS IN APPROVING OUR REQUEST FOR \$1.0 BILLION IN FMS FINANCING FOR ISRAEL AND CUTTING SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FOR ISRAEL AND THE ARAB STATES. WE RECOMMEND THAT WE APPEAL THESE CUTS, AT LEAST TO THE FY 77 LEVEL, BECAUSE ANY SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS AT THIS TIME WOULD CONVEY A NEGATIVE SIGNAL TO BOTH SIDES AT A TIME WHEN WE WILL ALMOST

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

CERTAINLY BE TRYING TO REGAIN THE NEGOTIATING MOMENTUM.

THE PRESIDENT HAS RESERVED HIS POSITION ON WHAT PORTION OF THE FMS LOAN TO ISRAEL SHOULD BE FORGIVEN.. WE DO NOT RECOMMEND PRESSING FOR A FINAL DECISION ON THIS MATTER AT THIS TIME.

-ZAIRE

THE DISAPPROVAL OF OUR PROPOSAL TO SEEK NEW GRANT MAP APPROPRIATION OF \$30 MILLION WAS OFFSET BY APPROVAL FOR THE SAME AMOUNT IN DIRECT CREDIT SUBJECT TO POSSIBLE CONCESSIONAL INTEREST RATE. OMB HAD RECOMMENDED A LOWER FIGURE; THE NSC STAFF PROPOSED THE COMPROMISE. AF, WHILE PREFERRING A MAP PROGRAM, CAN LIVE WITH THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION. PM ARGUES THAT WE SHOULD APPEAL FOR GRANT

ASSISTANCE ON THE BASIS THAT ZAIRE HAS BEEN UNABLE TO MEET PRINCIPAL AND INTEREST PAYMENTS DUE ON EXISTING FMS LOANS, AND, THEREFORE, IS IN TECHNICAL DEFAULT. THE USG IS WORKING WITH THE PARIS CLUB ON RESCHEDULING ALL OF ZAIRE'S EXTERNAL DEBTS, SO THERE ARE SUBSTANTIAL ARGUMENTS AGAINST FURTHER LOANS, PARTICULARLY FOR MILITARY EQUIPMENT. PM

ALSO CONSIDERS THAT PROVIDING CONCESSIONAL INTEREST RATES FOR ZAIRE WOULD INSPIRE NUMEROUS OTHER REQUESTS. A MAP PROGRAM, ON THE OTHER HAND, WOULD GENERATE CLOSER CONGRESSIONAL SCRUTINY AND COMPEL US TO DEFINE THE PROGRAM IN TERMS OF CONTENT AND DURATION; WHICH WE ARE NOT READY TO DO AT THIS TIME.

-THAILAND

THE PRESIDENT'S DELETION OF GRANT MAP RUNS COUNTER TO THE ASSURANCES WHICH YOU RECENTLY APPROVED FOR AMBASSADOR WHITEHOUSE TO CONVEY THAT THE USG INTENDED TO CONTINUE MODERATE LEVELS OF GRANT AID. EA BELIEVES THAT THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL VALUE OF A SMALL GRANT AID PROGRAM FOR ONE MORE FISCAL YEAR WILL CONTINUE TO BE CONSIDERABLE, NOT ONLY ON THE THAI BUT ON THE OTHER COUNTRIES OF THE REGION AS WELL. TO BE SEEN AS INTENDING NOW TO END GRANT AID IN FY 1978 WILL BE INTERPRETED BY THE THAI AND THEIR
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 05 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

NEIGHBORS AS A REACTION AGAINST THE THAI MILITARY TAKEOVER AND AS A CLEAR SIGN OF LESSENERED U.S. INTEREST IN THE REGION. EA THEREFORE STRONGLY RECOMMENDS THAT WE APPEAL TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CONTINUATION OF MAP AT A COMPROMISE LEVEL OF \$8 MILLION, DOWN FROM OUR EARLIER FIGURE OF \$12.5.

-CENTO

INASMUCH AS OUR RECOMMENDATION FOR \$5 MILLION IN MAP MATERIEL FOR CENTO WAS AN EFFORT TO HONOR THE PLEDGE YOU MADE AT THE CENTO MINISTERIAL CONFERENCE IN ANKARA IN MAY 1975 AND REAFFIRMED IN LONDON IN JUNE 1976 TO SEEK FUNDS TO HELP UPGRADE THE ORGANIZATION'S COMMUNICATIONS SYSTEM, WE REQUEST YOUR DECISION AS TO WHETHER TO APPEAL THIS DELETION. (YOU MAY RECALL THAT THE PRESIDENT ALSO DELETED THIS REQUEST LAST YEAR.)

-INDONESIA

THE SHIFT OF \$5 MILLION FROM THE MAP ACCOUNT TO FMS, LEAVING INDONESIA WITH \$15 MILLION IN GRANT AID FOR FY 1978, DOES NOT APPEAR TO US LIKELY TO HAVE A SERIOUS ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. WE SIMILARLY VIEW THE CUT IN TRAINING FUNDS FROM \$3.5 MILLION TO \$3.1 MILLION AND DO NOT RECOMMEND ANY APPEAL FOR THE INDONESIAN PROGRAM.

-MOROCCO AND TUNISIA

THE CUTS IN THE GRANT TRAINING PROGRAMS FOR MOROCCO AND TUNISIA DO NOT REPRESENT SUBSTANTIAL BUDGET SAVINGS BUT, PARTICULARLY IN THE CASE OF TUNISIA, WOULD HAVE SOME ADVERSE IMPACT ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS. AN APPEAL FOR

TUNISIA WOULD BE HIGHLY DESIRABLE IN TERMS OF OUR POLICY OF ASSISTING THE GOT TO IMPROVE ITS DEFENSIVE CAPABILITIES AND CONSISTENT WITH OUR INCREASED FMS FINANCING.

-LEBANON

THE DELETION OF OUR REQUEST FOR \$10 MILLION IN FMS FINANCING WAS APPARENTLY BASED ON AN OMB ARGUMENT THAT CONDITIONS WERE TOO UNSETTLED TO JUSTIFY BUDGETARY PLANNING.
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 06 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

INASMUCH AS PEACE RECENTLY HAS RETURNED TO THAT WAR-TORN COUNTRY, WE BELIEVE WE SHOULD APPEAL THIS DELETION TO PROVIDE TANGIBLE SUPPORT FOR OUR RECENT PUBLIC STATEMENT TO HELP LEBANON REBUILD ITS INTERNAL STABILITY.

-CAMEROON

AF FEELS STRONGLY THAT WE SHOULD SEEK TO REVERSE THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DENY FMS FINANCING FOR CAMEROON. WE WOULD JUSTIFY THIS IN LIGHT OF CAMEROON'S STATURE AS A LEADING MODERATE AFRICAN STATE, AND THE POLITICAL SUPPORT IT HAS PROVIDED US.

-PANAMA

THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DENY FMS FINANCING IN THE AMOUNT OF \$7.7 MILLION FOR THE PURCHASE OF A C-130 AIRCRAFT FOR THE PANAMANIAN NATIONAL GUARD WAS REPORTEDLY BASED ON AN OMB ARGUMENT THAT ANY SUCH AID SHOULD BE RESERVED FOR USE AS A 'QUID' IN THE PANAMA CANAL NEGOTIATIONS. ARA HAS EXPLAINED TO OMB PREVIOUSLY WHY THIS CONTRIBUTION TO PANAMANIAN SELF DEFENSIVE CAPABILITY IS URGENT NOW AND SHOULD NOT BE TIED DIRECTLY TO THE ONGOING TREATY TALKS. ARA FEELS STRONGLY THAT DENIAL OF THIS ANTICIPATED AID WOULD NOT ENHANCE THE ATMOSPHERE FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THEREFORE WE SHOULD SEEK RESTORATION OF THESE FUNDS.

-PORTUGAL

THE PRESIDENT'S DECISION TO DEFER ACTION ON OUR REQUEST FOR SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE FOR PORTUGAL APPARENTLY WAS INSPIRED BY AN OMB ARGUMENT THAT NO SECURITY ASSISTANCE SHOULD BE BUDGETED FOR FY 1978 AND OUT YEARS EXCEPT AS 'QUIDS' FOLLOWING NEGOTIATION OF AN AZORES BASE AGREEMENT.

THE PRESIDENT PREVIOUSLY APPROVED OUR PROPOSAL FOR A SUPPLEMENTAL \$30 MILLION MAP REQUEST IN FY 1977, AND HE HAS JUST APPROVED U.S. PARTICIPATION IN A \$1.5 BILLION MULTILATERAL LOAN TO AID PORTUGAL IN ITS CURRENT ECONOMIC
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 07 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

STRAITS, SO IT IS CLEAR THAT HE IS DISPOSED TO ASSIST THE PORTUGUESE.

WHEN WE WERE FORMULATING THE FY 1978 SECURITY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS LAST SEPTEMBER AND OCTOBER IN SAPRC, WITH OMB PARTICIPATION, EUR ANTICIPATED THAT THE AZORES BASE NEGOTIATIONS WOULD BE UNDERTAKEN SOON AND CONCLUDED EARLY ENOUGH IN 1977 TO PERMIT INSERTION OF A FIGURE IN THE FY 1978 REQUEST IN TIME TO MEET CONGRESSIONALLY MANDATED DEADLINES FOR INCLUSION IN THE BUDGET CEILING. THERE WAS GENERAL AGREEMENT THAT FOR TACTICAL PURPOSES IN THE "IMMINENT" NEGOTIATIONS NO SPECIFIC POSSIBLE LEVELS OF ASSISTANCE FOR FY 1978 SHOULD BE REVEALED YET.

HOWEVER, SINCE THAT TIME THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT HAS BACKED AWAY FROM EARLY TALKS BECAUSE OF INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES WHILE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC NEED FOR REASSURANCE OF OUR SUPPORT HAS GROWN. FURTHERMORE, THE NATO AD HOC COMMITTEE ON PORTUGAL WILL START ITS SERIOUS CONSIDERATION OF MILITARY REQUIREMENTS IN MID-DECEMBER. AN ABILITY TO CITE U.S. FUNDING PLANS WOULD GREATLY STRENGTHEN OUR ABILITY TO ENCOURAGE THE FRG (WHICH ALREADY HAS SHOWN INTEREST IN CONTRIBUTING EQUIPMENT) AND OTHER ALLIES TO SHARE THE BURDEN OF PROVIDING EQUIPMENT FOR PORTUGAL'S FORCE MODERNIZATION.

FOR THESE REASONS, WE RECOMMEND THAT WE NOT ONLY RECLAMA THE \$50 MILLION SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE AND \$3 MILLION IMET, BUT ALSO THAT WE USE THIS REVIEW SESSION TO ARGUE FOR A MAP PROGRAM AT A LEVEL OF \$25 MILLION FOR FY 1978 (\$5 MILLION LESS THAN THE PRESIDENT APPROVED FOR FY 1977). THE PROPOSED REDUCTION IN IMET FROM \$3 MILLION TO THE INFLATION-ADJUSTED 1974-76 OENCH MARK LEVEL OF \$1.3 MILLION IS INAPPROPRIATE BECAUSE THE INITIATION OF NATO-RELATED FORCE MODERNIZATION PROGRAM THIS YEAR REQUIRES A

MUCH HIGHER ANNUAL LEVEL OF TRAINING THAN WAS APPROPRIATE OR POLITICALLY FEASIBLE PREVIOUSLY. (WE ENVISAGE THESE FIGURES WOULD BE SUPPLEMENTED BY FMS FINANCING IN THE RANGE OF \$40 MILLION IN FY 1978) HOWEVER, IN LIGHT OF THE OTHER
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 08 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

ASPECTS OF THE PRESIDENT'S MARK, WE BELIEVE THAT OUR ARGUMENTS SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON THE POLITICAL IMPORTANCE OF BUDGETING FOR MAP GRANT AID NOW, AND LEAVE THE PLANNING FOR ADDITIONAL AID TO FLOW FROM THE NATO TALKS AND FURTHER SPECIFICATIONS OF PORTUGUESE REQUIREMENTS.

- SOUTHERN AFRICA

OUR REQUEST WAS FOR \$220 MILLION IN FY 1978, IN ADDITION TO A \$200 MILLION SUPPLEMENTAL FOR FY 1977. OMB HAS RECOMMENDED A \$100 MILLION FY 1978 LEVEL FOR THE MOMENT UNTIL RHODESIA AND OTHER ISSUES ARE CLARIFIED (AT WHICH POINT A SUPPLEMENTAL COULD BE CONSIDERED). THE PRESIDENT HAS DECIDED TO POSTPONE FOR SEVERAL DAYS ANY DECISION ON THE FY 1978 LEVEL AS WELL AS THE 1977 SUPPLEMENTAL (OMB OPPOSED ANY SUPPLEMENTAL FOR FY 1977). PRESUMABLY SOME DECISION ON THESE NUMBERS MUST BE MADE NEXT WEEK.

3. RECOMMENDATIONS:

THAT THE DEPARTMENT NOT REPEAT NOT APPEAL THE FOLLOWING RELATIVELY MINOR CUTS:

INDONESIA: SHIFT \$5 MILLION FROM MAP TO FMS:REDUCTION OF \$400,000 IN GRANT TRAINING.

MOROCCO: REDUCTION OF \$300,000 IN GRANT TRAINING.

JORDAN: REDUCTION OF \$500,000 IN GRANT TRAINING.

APPROVE ----- DISAPPROVE -----

THAT YOU LEND PERSONAL WEIGHT TO APPEALS ON FOLLOWING PROGRAMS, SUBJECT TO YOUR DECISION ON EACH. WE ARE PREPARING A MEMORANDUM TO THE PRESIDENT FOR CONSIDERATION ON YOUR RETURN INCORPORATING FOREIGN POLICY ARGUMENTS FOR RESTORING OUR REQUESTED LEVELS. WE ARE READY TO DISCUSS ITEMS ON YOUR RETURN IF YOU WISH TO DEFER SOME DECISIONS.

MIDDLE EAST PACKAGE: REDUCTION OF SSA FOR ISRAEL FROM \$785 MILLION TO \$500 MILLION AND PROPORTIONAL REDUCTIONS FOR EGYPT, JORDAN, AND SYRIA.

APPEAL ALL ----- APPEAL TO '77 LEVEL OF \$735 MILLION ----
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 09 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

DO NOT APPEAL -----

ZAIRE: SHIFT \$30 MILLION FROM GRANT MAP TO FMS
CREDIT AT CONCESSIONAL INTEREST RATE.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

THAILAND: ELIMINATION OF MAP FOR FMS; WE RECOMMEND RESTORATION OF REDUCED LEVEL MAP REQUEST OF \$8 MILLION.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

CENTO: DELETION OF \$5 MILLION GRANT MAP.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

TUNISIA: REDUCTION OF \$300,000 IN GRANT TRAINING.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

LEBANON: DELETION OF \$10 MILLION FMS FINANCING.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

CAMEROON: DELETION OF \$5 MILLION FMS FINANCING.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

PANAMA: REDUCTION OF FMS FINANCING TO TOKEN \$1
MILLION LEVEL.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

PORTUGAL: ELIMINATION OF \$50 MILLION SECURITY
SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

REQUEST \$25 MILLION GRANT MAP.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 10 STATE 293839 TOSEC 310442

REQUEST RESTORATION OF \$1.7 MILLION IN GRANT TRAINING.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

SOUTHERN AFRICA: DEFERRAL OF DECISION OF \$220 MILLION
SECURITY SUPPORTING ASSISTANCE PACKAGE.

APPEAL ----- DO NOT APPEAL -----

DRAFTED BY: PM/SAS:SWINSHIP
CLEARED BY: P:HABIB AND T:JORDAN; S:HCOLLUMS
APPROVED BY: MR. ROBINSON

ROBINSON

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 16 SEP 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, SECURITY, POLICIES, MILITARY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS, MILITARY SALES, GRANTS, BRIEFING MATERIALS
Control Number: S7624830
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 DEC 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: coburnhl
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE293839
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PM/SAS:SWINSHIP/RS
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: D760445-1151
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19761293/baaaeqva.tel
Line Count: 425
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, TEXT ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN PM
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 8
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: n/a
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: coburnhl
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 27 JUN 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <23 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <16 AUG 2004 by coburnhl>; RELEASED <27 JUN 2005 by blochd0>; APPROVED <05 JUL 2005 by coburnhl>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MEMORANDUM - FY 1978 SECURITY ASSISTANCE
TAGS: OVIP, MASS, US, (KISSINGER, HENRY A)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006